

"The idea becomes power when it penetrates the masses."
—Karl Marx.

SPECIAL MAGAZINE SUPPLEMENT THE DAILY WORKER

SECOND SECTION
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APRIL 4, 1925.

British Leaders Urge Trade Union Unity

(Continued from yesterday)

The Attitude of the Trades Union Congress.

On September 1, Mr. A. A. Purcell, delivering his president's address to the Hull Trades Union Congress, at which a fraternal delegation from Russia, headed by Topnky, was present, referred to the decisions of the Vienna meeting, and used one or two phrases, of which the most significant was:—

We must assuredly make the most of every opportunity, dignified or otherwise, to bring every national trade union center within the four corners of a genuinely united and avowedly anti-capitalist International Federation of Trade Unions.

This was taken up by Mr. Pollitt and Mr. Hallsworth in the discussion of the British delegation's report on the Vienna Congress. An all-in congress was suggested. Finally, the Trade Union Congress unanimously agreed to the following statement made from the chair by Mr. A. A. Purcell:—

I think I ought to take this opportunity of impressing upon Congress the significant fact that we have now received from practically all those Continental nations where the labor movement is in a disturbed condition indications that they are looking to the British Trades Union Congress as a demonstration of that unity which it appears to me is so vitally necessary. From Italy and Germany, and now from France, the dissident sections have intimated their desire for unity, and if our movement is to fulfill its great destiny, something might be done to consummate that desire. In no country is unity so firmly established as in Great Britain, and it seems incumbent upon this Congress, without any formal resolution or indulging in long discussion, to take such steps in bringing together the different elements of the labor movement in Europe in an effort to establish that solidarity which will make for world peace. I, therefore, suggest to Congress that they empower the general council, through the International Federation of Trade Unions, to take all possible steps to bring the parties together.

Immediately after the Hull Congress, a meeting of the executive committee of the I. F. T. U. was held at Amsterdam on September 11. The British delegates put forward proposals, and as a result a letter was sent to Moscow:—

To the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions, Moscow, Amsterdam Sept. 11, 1924.

Comrades,

Our executive committee, at its meeting on the 11th Sept. considered your letter of the 28th July, and instructed us to reply as follows:—

The desire for the restoration of the organizational unity of the trade union movement, for the destruction of which we are not responsible, has always been present with us, and has been repeatedly expressed by us. We also agree with what you say: "That the struggle between labor and capital, which is becoming more and more acute, can be successful only when the forces of the economic organizations of the proletariat will be concentrated, and the unity of the international trade union movement achieved.

It must, however, be realized that between the policy that you recognize as the basis of trade union activity and that to which we adhere,

FOR WORLD TRADE UNION UNITY

We publish herewith the second instalment of extracts from the Special Supplement to the Monthly Circular of the Labor Research Department of the British Trade Union Congress devoted to furthering world trade union unity.

The Special Supplement began with a preface by A. A. Purcell, president of the International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam) and is composed largely of original documents; correspondence between the Red International of Labor Unions and the Amsterdam right wing officialdom; reports of conferences, etc.

The publication of this Special Supplement, the very frank and militant announcement of its purposes by the president of the Amsterdam International, the complete exposure of the treacherous and disruptive tactics of the right wing which it contains, all are indicative of the tremendous hold that the slogan of World Trade Union Unity has gained upon the British trade union movement, the most powerful section of the Amsterdam International.—Ed. Note.

there is a fundamental difference, which is much wider than that of more or less radical policy. To bring these widely different lines of thought into agreement can be no light task, but we are willing to strain all our powers to perform it.

Before we can consider entering into negotiations as proposed by you, it is in our view desirable to have something in writing as a basis for discussion, so that we may see where agreement on principles and policy is possible. We would therefore request you to make written proposals, from which we can judge whether a common basis of agreement can be found.

As you know, the instructions which we received in Vienna, in regard to any negotiations as to unity that might take place, were quite definite, but this question can be left for the time being. We need not emphasize the fact that the executive committee could not, in this most important matter, take any binding decisions that exceed the instructions we received at Vienna without consulting our general council, and possibly even another congress.

Looking forward to receiving your reply, With international greetings,

For the Executive Committee of the International Federation of Trade Unions:

A. A. Purcell, chairman,
J. Oudegeest, Secretary.

The reply to this came in a long letter (given below), despatched from Moscow on October 23. In this note the desire of the I. F. T. U. for "something in writing" is met by full and explicit statement of principle, together with a proposal for an all-embracing World Congress of Labor as the best means of obtaining unity.

To the International Federation of Trade Unions, Amsterdam

Moscow, Oct. 23, 1924.

Dear Comrades,

We received your letter, of date the 11th of September, on September 20, but as the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions only met in full session on the 23rd of October, we had no opportunity of replying to you.

It was not without satisfaction that we learned of your declaration that you, too, were desirous of creating organizational unity in the trade union movement.

It appears to us to be out of place here to go into details with regard to the party on whose shoulders blame must be laid for the split in the international trade union movement. We would only wish to point out that in reality a united, all-in-

clusive and firmly welded international trade union movement has never hitherto existed.

Only our present—as we suppose—common efforts will lead, we hope, to an end being put to the split.

We willingly fall in with your wish that you receive something in written form which would serve as a basis for the coming negotiations.

We on our part are striving to create unity within the trade union movement on an international and national scale, that is to say, as far as possible to get the closest unification of all trade union organizations, those affiliated to the Red International of Labor Unions or the International Federation of Trade Unions as well as those standing completely aside from any international federated bodies, on the necessary condition that these organizations standing apart from these federations recognize the principle of the class struggle.

We think there is no need to explain why we are striving to achieve this unification, this alliance of trade unions with an orientation genuinely anti-capitalist. You know as well as we do that the unity of the international trade union movement is the very first precondition to a successful fight both against the offensive of capital and the fascist reaction and against the capitalist order as a whole.

We hold that the best means of attaining unity and being able to create one single Trade Union International would be the convening general joint congress, of a world congress of labor. As to how, when and where this congress could take place would not be a difficult matter to agree to during the course of the negotiations. We note your view that between "the policy" which we lay down as the basis of our work in the trade unions and yours there exists a fundamental difference, that here there exists a profound abyss, "much wider than that of a more or less radical policy."

The significance of this phrase is not quite clear to us. For as a matter of fact those differences which exist as between us are nothing new—they have been in existence for a number of years now and were probably known to and taken into consideration by the Vienna Congress of your Federation. It is self-understood that in the proper place and at the proper time we will be ready to discuss in all details the differences in opinion which divide us from you. In any case we are pleased to confirm the fact that there is a desire on your

part—no matter what may be the real divisions between us—to do all that lies in your power to find a common line of action.

As we on our part have the same desire, we declare that the chiefest and most important guiding principle in the activities of the trade union and workers' organizations, as we hold, is to get free of the irreconcilable contradiction in interests between labor and capital, this demanding a class war to the knife between the wage-slave and the capitalist classes for the final abolition of the capitalist system and the emancipation of the proletariat from the oppression of capitalist exploitation and the beggary, barbarism and slavery which it brings in its train.

Hence the reason for our proposal: a complete break with every form of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, a common fight of the workers and their organizations, on a national and international scale against world capital—and thanks to this, the full readiness of all genuine militant organizations fighting for the emancipation of the working class might be rendered possible.

We await your reply and particularly notices as to when and where in your opinion the first negotiations between your representatives and ours might be held.

Although we for our part are also ready to continue, as far as this might be necessary, correspondence on the question of unity, it seems desirable to us, however, and it would be more useful as far as the business itself is concerned, if with the aid of the first exchange of views and opinions—even if such a meeting were not to bear any kind of binding character whatsoever—the way was to be prepared for all further steps towards the goal we have in view.

With comradely greetings,
President of the All-Russian
Central Council of Trade Unions:

M. TOMSKY,

Secretary of the All-Russian
Central Council of Trade Unions:

A. DOGADOV.

To this again a reply was sent from the Bureau of the I. F. T. U. on December 1, George Hicks being present as British delegate in the absence of Purcell and Bramley in Russia. The wording of the I. F. T. U. letter is as follows:—

We gather from your letter of July 26, and also from this last letter, that you do not appear willing to affiliate with the I. F. T. U. on the basis of its rules and resolutions. Instead of doing so you propose the convening of a joint general congress, a world labor congress, to which would be invited not only the organizations affiliated with the I. F. T. U. and the R. I. L. U., but all other organizations outside these Internationals which recognize the principle of class war.

We have already called your attention in our letter of September 11 to the fact that the Vienna Congress gave us definite directions for the opening of negotiations on the question of affiliation of the Russian trade unions to the I. F. T. U.

It is for our general council, which together with the executive committee, constitute the two bodies competent to interpret and execute the decisions of our International Congresses, to consider and define its attitude regarding your new proposal.

(Continued on page 8)

Engels and His False Friends

By T. J. O'FLAHERTY.

THE un-Marxian Marxists of the United States and particularly that collection of hothouse theorists, segregated under the banner of the socialist labor party, have unearthed every stray remark, and debauched the literature of pre-war socialism in an effort to prove that Marx and Engels were not revolutionists, but blind worshippers of the tool of production to whose progressive march alone could be attributed all the forward leaps of civilization and to which the emancipation of the working class could be traced without the exploding of a fire cracker or even the scratching of a finger.

Let the tool of production do the work! The reformists masquerading under the camouflage of revolutionary socialism would observe its progress and carefully note down every development, branding all those who insisted on working class organization for the overthrow of capitalism, as crazy adventurers.

Communists have all the admiration in the world for the tool of production and they know that its development is more responsible for the changes that have come over the face of society than all the kings and princes, generals and statesmen that ever lived. But this world is composed of human beings as well as inanimate instruments of production and destruction. The master class are in possession of both and when the working class refuse to work the productive machine at the terms dictated by the bosses, the latter will turn the destructive machines on them with damaging effect. Hence the need of capturing the governmental power which controls the tools of destruction.

The reformists spurn revolutionary action and hold that no permanent progress can be made unless it is done according to the laws of civilization—whatever they are. In other words, the workers are advised to watch the social panorama go by with folded arms and wait until capitalism digs its own graveyard and drops peacefully into it. Whereupon the working class, led by the hothouse theorists will appear, issue a proclamation and declare that the co-operative commonwealth has arrived.

Marx and Engels, the two outstanding giants in the intellectual galaxy of social revolution, up to the time of their deaths and until the star of Lenin appeared over the horizon, received lip service from the many bodies of the reformists until the revolutionary implications of their theories rose out of the seething cauldron of world war like a pillar of fire. And when the Russian Bolsheviks began to translate Marxism into action under the leadership of Lenin, all the pseudo-Marxists who worshipped at his shrine while he remained the harmless pedagogue scurried like rats into their cellars and came forth with little odds and ends that they hoped would prove that Marx and Engels did not believe in the use of every servicable weapon with which to overthrow capitalism, but confined themselves to the ballot alone, which was touted by the reformists as the high water mark of civilization.

One of those cave prowlers, an old fossil employed by the socialist labor party to make the teachings of Engels fit the mild mannered socialist patriotism of that organization, emerged from his search with a piece written by Engels in 1895 as an introduction to Marx's Class Struggles in France, 1848-1850, in which Engels is represented to have renounced the idea of force as a "pacifist adorer of legality at any price" as Engels puts it. How this crime was committed against the veteran Engels is shown by letters written by Marx's co-worker to Karl Kautsky long before the latter turned traitor to the social revolution.

In view of the many attempts made by the betrayers of Marxian socialism to pose as the logical successors of Marx and Engels and transform the revolutionary lions into pacifist lambs,

the following excerpt from Kautsky's book should prove of interest.

A. M. Simons omitted this part of the book in his American translation. In this book Kautsky renounced the claims of the revisionists before he himself turned away from Marxism. This passage from Kautsky's book refutes the claims of those who would make a babbling pacifist and a legalist lumber out of the intellectual collaborator and founder of modern socialism, Karl Marx:

It is being attempted, among other things, to set me in opposition to Frederick Engels, who formerly indeed, so it is said, felt likewise very revolutionary, but became reasonable shortly before his death, recognised the untenableness of his revolutionary standpoint, and also acknowledged it.

Now it is correct that in 1895 Engels, in his well-known preface to Marx's Class Struggles in France, pointed out how much the conditions of the revolutionary struggle had changed in comparison with 1848. We must, in order to be victorious, have great masses behind us "who understand what is to be done," and we, the

ber that the so-called revolution bill, which, in order to render more difficult the socialist propaganda, proposed severe additions to the existing laws, was on December 5, 1894, laid before the German Reichstag, which on January 14 referred it to a commission, where they deliberated upon it over three months' long. Exactly at this time the introduction of Engels was written.

How seriously Engels regarded the situation, is evident from a later passage of the same letter, where he wrote:

"An electoral reform, which brings us into parliament, I hold in Austria for absolutely certain, unless a sudden general period or reaction sets in. For such they appear to be working violently in Berlin, but there, unfortunately, they do not know, even from day to day, what they want."

Already earlier—on January 3—immediately before he set about the composition of his introduction, Engels had written to me:

"You are having, so it seems, a right lively year in Germany. If Herr Von Koller so continues, nothing is impossible: Conflict, dissolution,

mission's deliberations over the revolution bill, put together and published some pieces of the introduction in a way that, taken by themselves alone, they conveyed the impression which, according to the subsequent assertions of the revisionists, was intended by Engels, then the latter flared up in hot anger. In a letter of April 1, he wrote:

"To my astonishment I see today in the Vorwarts an extract from my introduction, printed without my previous knowledge and rigged up in such a way that I stand forth as a pacifist adorer of legality quod memo (at any price). So much dearer to me it is, that the whole is now appearing in the Neue Zeit, in order that this disgraceful impression may be effaced. I shall speak my mind to Liebknecht about it very decidedly, and also to those, whoever they be, who have given him this opportunity to distort my meaning."

He did not suspect that soon afterwards intimate friends, who above all were called upon to protect his views from distortions, were to come to the opinion that this distorted view had been his real one, and that what to him seemed disgraceful, signified the most glorious achievement of his life; the revolutionary fighter had ended as "pacifist adorer of legality at any price."

Should these arguments not suffice to mark the standpoint of Engels towards revolution, then let us refer to another article, upon "Socialism in Germany," which, in 1892, but a few years before the introduction to Marx's Class Struggles, he published in the Neue Zeit. There he wrote:

"How often have not the bourgeois expected of us, that we should renounce under all circumstances the use of revolutionary methods and remain within legal limits, now that, the exceptional law having fallen, the common law is again restored for all, for the socialists also! Unfortunately we are not in the position to do the Messrs. Bourgeois this favor. Which, however, does not hinder that at this moment it is not we whom 'legality destroys.' On the contrary, it is working excellently for us, so that we should be foolish did we violate it, so long as things proceed thus. Much nearer lies the question, whether it is not precisely the bourgeois and their government which will violate law and status, in order to crush us by force? We will wait for that. Meanwhile: 'Shoot first, if you please Messrs. Bourgeois.'"

"No doubt they will shoot first. One fine morning the German bourgeois and their government will grow tired of watching with folded arms the spring tide of socialism flowing over everything; they will seek refuge in illegality, in the act of violence. What will it avail? Force can smother a small sect in circumscribed area; but the power is yet to be discovered which is able to root out a party of over two or three million men, spread over a great empire. The momentarily superior power of the counter-revolution can postpone the triumph of socialism, perhaps for some years, but only in order that it may then become so much the more complete and final.

FOREST OF BANNERS.

By JOHN LASSEN

(Translated by Simon Felshin)

POVERTY is displaying its tatters

and now the tatters are fluttering in the wind.

The sun glides with sparkling lustre over the tatters,

The wind turns up their red, yellow and blue colors:

Like a forest of banners they sway in the wind:

The workman's overalls, the little child's blue dress bleached from much washing, tattered stockings and sheets which are really only patch upon patch; torn union-suits are hanging here and khaki colored shirts, blood-red and dank blue handkerchiefs, decorated with white dots.

Oh, how many patches, how many patches! I am not lying, I say in all seriousness, that there are more patches than clothes.

And they are fluttering in the wind like war-tattered flags.

And that is what they are.

Work is a battlefield. An immense battlefield.

The shirts, the overalls, the union suits, the handkerchiefs and socks back from there mutilated . . .

And now they are fluttering in the wind.

An unemployed worker sets the phonograph to grumbling.

The machines whirl in the work-room. Under the low ceiling the air grows thick and envelops the workers.

Only a tiny strip can be seen of the far, far sky.

How good it is that the wash is fluttering out in the yard.

Thus you learn that at least outside there is air, and you see that

the sun pours out its radiance with a sparkling freshness of spring. You learn that . . .

For poverty is displaying its tatters.

"revolutionaries," the "overthrowers," were prospering far better by legal methods than by illegal means and overthrow. But let it not be forgotten, he meant that only for the situation of that time. Whoever will know how Engels' propositions are to be understood, must compare them with letters of Engels to which I recently referred in the Neue Zeit (XXVII, 1, p. 7). From these one learns that he protested vigorously against the appearance of being "a pacifist adorer of legality at any price." In that passage of the Neue Zeit I wrote:

"The introduction to Marx's Class Struggles is dated March 6, 1895. A few weeks after that the book appeared in public. I had asked Engels to let me have the copy of the introduction for publication in the Neue Zeit. Thereupon he answered me on March 25:

"Your telegram at once answered: 'With pleasure.' Per wrapper follows the text in proof with the title: Introduction to the reprint of Marx's The Class Struggles in France—1848-1850," by F. E. That the contents of the copy consist of the old articles out of the 'N. Rh. Z.' ('Neue Rheinische Zeitung'), is stated in the text. My text has suffered somewhat from our Berlin friends' apprehensive doubts about the revolution bill, to which indeed I was obliged, under the circumstances, to accommodate myself."

To understand this, one must remem-

ber that the so-called revolution bill, which, in order to render more difficult the socialist propaganda, proposed severe additions to the existing laws, was on December 5, 1894, laid before the German Reichstag, which on January 14 referred it to a commission, where they deliberated upon it over three months' long. Exactly at this time the introduction of Engels was written.

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Already earlier—on January 3—immediately before he set about the composition of his introduction, Engels had written to me:

"You are having, so it seems, a right lively year in Germany. If Herr Von Koller so continues, nothing is impossible: Conflict, dissolution,

coup d'etat. Of course, they will also put up with less. The junkers would be quite satisfied with augmented presents, but in order to obtain these, they will appeal to certain annexes of personal ambition, must to a certain extent give way to these whereas the factors of the opposition then come into play, and then enters into play the contingency, which is called the involuntary, the incalculable. In order to make sure of the presents, one must threaten with conflict—has it gone one step further, then the original object—the presents—becomes a secondary matter; then stands crown against reichstag, bend or break, then can it become merry. I am just reading Gardner's 'Personal Government of Charles I.'; things often agree to the point of absurdity with the Germany of today. Thus the arguments in respect of the immunity of the acts committed in parliament. Were Germany a romance land, so would the revolutionary conflict be inevitable, but so—we don't know nothing for certain, as Tollymeier (Schorlemmer) says."

Thus grave and fraught with conflict did Engels regard the situation at that time when the revisionists make him proclaim, that the era of unconditional legal and peaceful development has dawned and is forever assured; the era of revolutions lies behind us.

But when the Vorwarts, in order indeed to influence favorably the com-

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"Mammonart" by Upton Sinclair

(A Review)
By A. G. BOSSE.

"MAMMONART" is a scientific expedition into hitherto unexplored regions. It attempts to prove that all art, and especially literature, is propaganda. In Sinclair's words, ". . . from the dawn of human history, the path to honor and success in the arts has been thru the service and glorification of the ruling classes; entertaining them, making them pleasant to themselves, and teaching their subjects and slaves to stand in awe of them." For a believer in this materialistic conception of history the mere statement of the case in these terms enjoins belief.

More narrowly stated the purpose of the book is: first, to show how artists have made their living, from whom, and what they had to do for it, briefly, the economics of art; secondly, to kill some of the "art lies" now prevalent, such as art for art's sake, art for the few only, art as unnormal, as entertainment, as non-propagandist, and art as tradition, chained to the methods and themes of the "masters." Sinclair more than proves his contentions, and covers the high peaks in the world's literature, art, and music in the process. Curiously enough, he does not touch upon any living artists, perhaps due to lack of space, perhaps because he believes with Shaw that concerning the living one should speak no evil. Yet there-in he would not be himself. However, Trotsky (Literature and Revolution) has handled contemporary currents in literature beautifully, and altho his writers are Russian, still their schools and theories exist everywhere. Klinev, Yessenin, Pilnyak, and Biely are simply the Andersons, Lowells, Barbusses, Conna Doyles of Western Europe and America.

A clever device which Sinclair uses again and again is that of starting with a quotation from one of his books, and shading off into quotations from Juvenal, Balmace, Mollere, etc., to show that "great" writers said just as "terrible" and as true things of the ruling class as he did. For the sake of those comrades who still believe that literature is sacred and the one thing immune from materialist dialectics, I may quote one or two bits from Sinclair.

"The great poems, Shakespeare's included, are poisonous to the idea of the pride and dignity of the common people, the life-blood of democracy. The models of our literature, as we get it from other lands, ultramarine, have had their birth in courts, and basked and grown in castle sunshine; all smell of prince's favors." So thinks Sinclair, beg pardon, Whitman, of writers and the ruling class. "And the artists producing art will not be, as now, merely a few people selected from a small section of the nation, members of the upper classes or their hangers-on, but will consist of all those gifted members of the whole people who prove capable of activity." So thinks Upton Tolstoy of the art of the future. And when Sinclair berates the world's greatest painters, such as Raphael: "What is esthetics? The art of praising or belittling works of art. What works of art must be praised? Those that glorify the upper classes. Therefore Raphael and Michaelangelo are the most famous artists, for they glorified the religious falsehoods of the upper classes. Shakespeare magnified kings, and Goethe magnified himself, the writer of the upper classes. But how about other works of art? There must not be others." So does a writer of the working class regard artists. And Strindberg knew his fellow craftsmen. A few other of Sinclair's arguments might be quoted from Brandes, Shaw, Heine, Chatterton, Thompson, Nietzsche, Spencer, Johnson, Ruskin. (See the section on The Poet in his "Cry for Justice.")

One more quotation for those Communists who are devout disciples of Marx and Lenin till it comes to art and literature. For them I have a word. "In a society which maintains itself by the power of money, and where the mass of the workers lack

the necessities of life, there is no real liberty. Are you free in relation to your bourgeois publisher, my writer friend? Again, are you free in relation to your bourgeois public, which demands from you pornography and prostitution as a supplement to 'sacred dramatic art'? . . . The freedom of the bourgeois writer, or artist, or actress, is a mask of independence concealing a real dependence on the money of parasites and souteurers (those who "keep" them) . . . We socialists tear aside this hypocrisy, and unmask their false standards, not to arrive at a literature 'above class' (that will be possible only in a socialist society, in a society without classes), but to oppose to this so-called free literature, which is really allied with the bourgeoisie, a literature bound openly to the proletariat." So wrote Lenin in 1905, and those who see the truth as it, must likewise believe the thesis which Sinclair sets forth to prove.

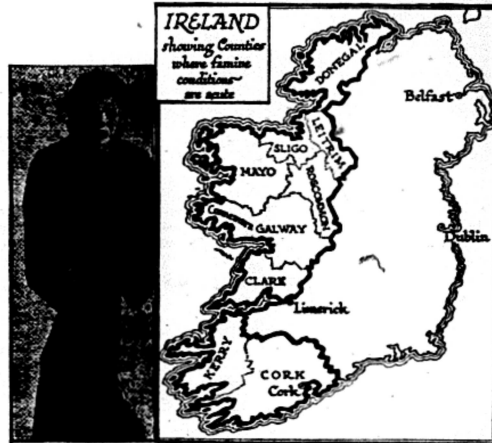
Sinclair begins with the art of the caveman, and ends with Anatole France. His hypothetical placing of the savage artist makes an interesting addition to Bogdanoff's theory of primitive tribal Communism. His treat-

is one of the class struggling for control, urging on to action, stressing substance rather than form. Instances of this type are, to name but a few of the dozens mentioned, Euripides, Juvenal, Mollere, Beethoven, Schiller, Milton, Burns, Heine, Michaelangelo, Shelley, Dante, Voltaire, Hugo, Ibsen, Tolstoy, Swift, Verhaeren, Crane, London, Whitman. Many, like Wagner, who helped build barricades in the streets of Dresden, sold out, and their art declined. Wordsworth, Southey, Corneille, Coleridge are some examples of the same thing. A few, like Byron, turned from leisure-class romances to revolution. Some admired rebels, but dared not revolt: Mark Twain is the most pitiful example of this, and O. Henry is another. Others actually fought in revolutions, and turned their art to the cause of revolution; Milton, Dante, Michaelangelo, Byron, Hugo, Shelley was a revolutionist, ideologically, and Keats, potentially. It is tragic to see how idle, vain daughters of the ruling class guined the lives of Beethoven, Heine (who was driven to syphilis), Nietzsche, Keats, and innumerable others.

The mass of facts, interestingly in-

ers" was dramatized by the Young Workers at Madison Square Garden. In any pioneer work there are bound to occur some things that displease. In "Mammonart" I found a few. Sinclair's social(ist)-patriotism crops out on page 83. His concessions to the bourgeois liberal (Mrs. Ogl), become irritating, his apologies annoying. His choice of Bierce, Meredith, Davis, Ward, Thackeray, rather than of a da Vinci, Tchaikovsky, Chaucer, Butler, Gorki, or others is a bit puzzling, unless one explains it on the supposition that they were particularly vulnerable. However, I realize the unfairness of criticizing "absentee" subjects, and of complaining because an author did not write his book as I wanted him to. I shall leave it to the liberals to condemn "Mammonart" because he speaks of Wagner as still living, or because he defies propaganda from the Standard dictionary rather than from Webster. The most interesting thing about "Mammonart" will be the squels in the reactionary and liberal press. And the hardest slams will be at the last chapter, "A Text-book for Russia" because there he appeals for action, not merely for passive agreement. He has found the same fault with art that Marx found with philosophy: "Philosophers have only interpreted the world differently, but the point is to change it." But the greatest menace in the book is the promise of another, dealing with contemporary art, and the guardians of the status quo will move heaven and earth to ward it off by "killing" this one.

The Irish Famine District



Both Fuel and Food Is Needed Here.

ment of biblical literature is original, and he carefully points out the dual propaganda of the bible, in some books the worship of kings and priests, and in others, the advocacy of their overthrow. He contrasts allegorically ancient and modern times, and is very fair in his treatment of the difficult (for a socialist partyite) subject of Russia: "If he is shocked by stories he has read about the Cheka and its torturing of prisoners, I invite him to consult Lea's 'History of the Spanish Inquisition' . . . It is safe to assert that for every human life sacrificed by the Soviet revolution in Russia, a hundred thousand lives have been taken in the name of the gentle and lowly Jesus."

One finds the book extremely interesting from the point of view of statistics and generalizations. Unconsciously almost one tends to classify and group the artists treated. A rough draft which I drew up is as follows: Artists of beauty and those of power is one classification Sinclair mentions. By the first he means the art established for a ruling class firmly established, wishing to be entertained, and desirous of restful, flattering, serene art, well matured, and well manured, technically perfect. Such art is produced by leisure-class artists or poor hangers-on who sell themselves. Examples of these are, (to choose but a few, of he deals in detail with at least thirty), Sophocles, Aristophanes, Virgil, Gothe, Shakespeare, Raphael, Boccaccio, Racine, Balzac, James, Twain, Conrad. The artist of power

terpreted, with which Sinclair buttresses his arguments, makes the book fascinating. It is worth looking into the relation between Wordsworth as the seducer and deserter of a young French girl, and as a paragon of piety and an arch-enemy of French immorality and revolution; or the connection between Bernhardt as the mistress of Edward VII and as the "great" actress of the bourgeoisie; or between the catholic "expurgation" of the Decameron and the church as the pure arm of feudal and bourgeois reaction; or between Shelley's advocacy of free love and revolution, and the literati's sabotage of his really vital work; or between Raphael's mistresses and his madonnas. It might also profit us to compare the poetry of Dryden with the propaganda of Byron. The former soothes a pockmarked patron:

"Each little dimple has a tear in it, To wall the fault its rising did commit."

Byron urges on to revolt an oppressed race:

"Hereditary bondsmen! know ye not

Who would be free themselves must strike the blow?

By their right arms the conquest must be wrought!"

The last quotation is disqualified as poetry by the academicians because, perhaps, it sounds too much like Marx's battcry. When the reactionary artists have become mere names in mouldy tomes, the rebels will still inspire and vitalize. Only a few weeks ago, Heine's "Slesian Wear-

Chicago

By SIMON FELSHIN

This is a world city
If you go by statistics.
But look at its drabness.
Bits of light in places,
No relief from the flatness.

Here is the rooming house district.
Plenty of women to be had
At all prices—
Chicago has an extra big quota.
Cheap cabarets open all night,
And plenty of booze.
Pawnshops and Greek restaurants.
The races of the world are here,
And the prostitutes are impartial.

Rivers carry lake boats through the city.
Seagulls come from the Lakes.
Ships go to the Lakes.
The bridges collapse before the ships.
Then they are resurrected,
And the process begins over again.

Here is a factory district,
Through the smoke
Look massive blocks.
Trains cut through them,
And under the bridges.
That monster is a grain elevator,
That other holds coal—
Strange shapes.

There is strength here,
And even symmetry,
But look at the dinginess around
Where the poor live.
Rubbish in the alleys,
And swarms of rats at night.

How can they tolerate
That stench from the Stockyards
Spreading over the city?

It is a drab city
With hardly a relief.
Bits of light in places,
And darkness all around.
This is no world city,
Unless you go by statistics.

Memorial Service for Sun Yat-Sen
CANTON, China, April 3.—The memorial services held here for Dr. Sun Yat-Sen were attended by immense crowds.

Give your shopmate this copy of the DAILY WORKER—but be sure to see him the next day to get his subscription.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

Germany's Communist Candidate.

BERLIN.—Comrade Ernest Thaelmann, the presidential candidate of the German Communist Party, was born on April 16, 1886, in Hamburg. At an early age he began his revolutionary activities, entering the social-democratic party at 16 and the Transport Workers' Union, of which he is still a member, at 18. At first he worked as a docker, then as a sailor and finally as a transport worker. Even after he had entered military service he kept up his work both in the union and in the party, and was denounced to the military authorities as a red by informers. After his military service was ended, Thaelmann was for a number of years a member of the Hamburg Committee of the Transport Workers' Union, and delegate to the Hamburg Trades Council; in the party, in addition to his local activity, he held the position of delegate to the national organization.

Because of his knowledge of various trades, and with the purpose of detaching him from the political activity in which he was very definitely felt to be a force to be reckoned with, Thaelmann was offered the post of manager of a large Hamburg concern, on condition that he would abandon his political and trade union work. He refused the "honor"—and thanks to Thaelmann's energetic work this same enterprise became one of the leading revolutionary strongholds of Hamburg, and 100 per cent organized.

At the outbreak of the war, Thaelmann fought bitterly against the chauvinism of the social-democratic leaders. Called to arms, he continued his revolutionary propaganda in the ranks, being finally tried by court martial for treason and thrown into prison.

After his release, Thaelmann continued the fight. Ordered by the Spartacus organization to remain and lead the left fight within the independent socialist party to which he then belonged, he carried on this work with such energy and skill that largely owing to his efforts, 95 per cent of the Hamburg section went over to the Communists.

Later, as president of the Hamburg section of the Communist Party, for many years Thaelmann led all the political and economic struggles in which the Communists participated. As leader of the Communist fraction in the Hamburg town council, and later, of the Communist fraction in the reichstag, Thaelmann kept up a constant fight on behalf of the German proletariat, and ever since the Hamburg insurrection of 1923, efforts were made to have his parliamentary immunity as reichstag deputy set aside.

Thaelmann has aided tremendously in the development of the German Communist Party, and was one of the first to war on the ideology of Brandler, the leader of the right wing in the party. The magnificent organization of the "Fighters of the Red Front" is also greatly due to his efforts.

In choosing Comrade Thaelmann as red candidate in 1926 presidential elections, the German Communist Party has done this in the knowledge that his revolutionary life, tireless effort the love that he bears the proletariat, his unshakable faith in revolutionary force are the living expression of the force, the ideological clarity and the tenacious revolutionary will of the German Communist Party.

The Halle Massacre.

The full facts of the Halle massacre, in which seven unarmed workers were killed and 40 wounded are now reaching this side.

Over 10,000 Communist workers gathered in the People's Park Hall to hear Thaelmann, the Communist presidential candidate and president of the "Fighters of the Red Front," which is strongly organized in that city. A French and an English

speaker were also on the program, and the social-democratic chief of police, Runge, objected to their speaking. Three hundred armed police surrounded the hall, and as soon as the translation of the English comrade's speech began, the police lieutenant, Pietzker, leaped on the platform, flourishing his revolver, and forbade the translation to proceed. The translator continued, and Pietzker declared the meeting dissolved. A storm of protest arose. Suddenly the police opened fire. All exits save one were closely guarded, and terrible scenes ensued.

This latest move in the campaign to terrorize the German workers, and at all costs to keep them from following Communist leadership in the strikes that are breaking out in industry after industry, and from supporting the Communists in the elections, has thoroughly infuriated the masses. In all the industrial centers great protest demonstrations have been held, at one of which, in Berlin, the police again fired on the crowd, killing one and wounding several workers. On the day of the funeral of the Halle victims, as on the day after the shooting, tens of thousands struck work in the big shops of the city. An immense crowd, bearing hundreds of red banners, accompanied the red-draped coffins to the cemetery. At the head marched the "Fighters of the Red Front" of Halle, and the Young Communists.

The Halle Federation of Shop Committees met to discuss the situation passing resolutions censuring the Halle social-democratic paper for coming out in defense of the police chief Runge, and demanding his immediate recall, the arrest of Pietzker, an investigation participated in by representatives of the shop committees and, finally, that in future the police should keep away from all workers meetings.

The Communist fractions in the reichstag and the Prussian landtag demanded that measures be taken against all officials connected with the massacre; and that the state pay compensation to the families of the victims, and the funeral expenses. The dismissal of the social-democratic chief of police, Runge, has already been forced thru.

Dissolve Youth Union.

BERLIN.—The bureaucracy of the A. D. G. B. (All German Federation of Trade Unions) has at last carried thru its scheme to liquidate the militant trade union of the youth of Breslau, because it dared to pass resolutions calling for struggle for the realization of the demands of the young workers.

It is a second Gotha. It will be recalled that the A. D. G. B. arbitrarily dissolved the local union of Gotha, which laid down the demands which became the basic program of the revolutionary trade unionists of Germany. The only difference consists in the fact that this time the great majority of the union of the youth of Breslau are not Communists, but belong to the opposition in the social-democratic party.

Polish Bureaucrats Sabotage Unity.

WARSAW.—The Polish Trade Union Confederation has refused the invitation of the Central Federation of Trade Unions of the U. S. S. R. to send a delegation to Russia to study the economic situation of the Russian workers, on the pretext that, under existing political conditions, it "does not believe that liberty of action will be assured the delegation in the U. S. S. R."

In the course of their answer the U. S. S. R. Confederation writes as follows:

"The refusal signifies that the Polish Trade Union Confederation has refused rapprochement with the Russian workers and trade unions. This

refusal cannot take from us the right to address ourselves directly to the Polish workers, who, just as the Russian workers, desire a united front of trade unions and the friendship of the proletariat of these neighbor states. Our invitation still holds good."

Session of U. S. S. R. Executive.

TIFLIS.—In accordance with the new plan for holding the sessions of the central executive committee of the U. S. S. R. in the various constituent Soviet Republics in turn, the recent (March) session, was held in Tiflis.

M. L. Kalinin's Speech.

M. I. Kalinin, in his opening speech pointed out that the Soviet Union was founded on the equality and mutual confidence of all the nationalities included in it. To realize this equality it was necessary that not only the central authorities, but that all the local authorities and people should understand clearly the aims, activities and the methods of work of the Soviet government. Turning to the question of the peasantry, Kalinin pointed out that in the early days of the revolution, there was no special peasant problem, as both peasant and worker had been mainly concerned with assuring the triumph of the November revolution. Now, however conditions had become more settled, but they had also become more complex. The government was meeting this problem among the peasants by an endeavor to improve the machinery of local Soviet government, by increasing expenditure on education, and now that the improved economic position of the country warranted it, by a reduction in taxation.

A particularly interesting report on Transcaucasia was given by M. Orakbelashvili, president of the Transcaucasian council of people's commissaries, in the course of which the reporter painted a remarkable picture of progress during the last few years. The success achieved in the restoration of the oil industry of Transcaucasia is well known. This progress is being maintained, and the Azneft is about to construct a new oil pipe line between Baku and Batumi and to erect a new oil refinery. The Zangezur copper mines have also been set into operation, and already 1,500 workers are employed in them. Powerful electric stations are being built, and the leather and textile industries are being rapidly restored. It is proposed to lease the Chikatura manganese area as a concession on the usual principle of the Soviet concession policy. Fifty-five per cent of the Georgian budget is spent on education. The number of children attending school is more by 150 per cent as compared with czarist days and by 79 per cent as compared with the menshevik period. The number of teachers is now 12,000 as compared with 5,000 under the mensheviks. Similar results have been attained in Armenia and Azerbaidjan.

Electrification of U. S. S. R.

This year should conclude the first five years' program of work on electrification laid down by the commission on the electrification of Russia, set up in 1920. This program provided for the construction of the following regional stations: the Volkhovsk, Kashira, Nizhni-Novorod, Shterov, and Kizelov, and the completion of the Utkin-Zavod (now known as Krassy-Oktiabr) station near Leningrad. It will be remembered that it was one of Lenin's most earnest desires that the electrification of Soviet Russia should proceed as rapidly as possible, because only by the application of electricity to industry and agriculture could he visualize the real liberation of the workers.

British Miners' Unity.

LONDON.—The movement towards an alliance of workers in England's key

industries is now well under way. In a recent address before the Mine Miners, A. J. Cook, militant secretary of the Miners' Federation, and an energetic fighter for unity, said that the results of the meetings of the miners' executive with those of the National Union of Railroad Workers, the Transport Workers' Union, and the Engineering Unions would be fully reported to the coming miners' conference. Further meetings would take place, he said, and he was confident that, with the aid of the rank and file in every union, the movement would, in 1925, arrive at an agreement which would give to the general council of the Trades Union Congress the right and power to co-ordinate activities so that all the unions would act together.

Speaking of the effort on the part of the bosses to offset the fighting propaganda of the minority (left) movement in the unions, and, with the aid of the yellow union leaders, get the men to submit meekly to wage cuts and longer hours, Cook said:

"I notice that the prime minister is opening a revival campaign for peace and tranquility. Let Mr. Baldwin come to earth and face the present situation."

Indication of Class Struggle.

That campaign was, at any rate, an indication that there was a class struggle.

It was no use for the premier to pretend that peace was possible under present conditions. Peace was possible only with economic security.

The conservative party was fortunate, Mr. Cook declared, in having a leader who could make such a speech when there was every appearance of strife and turmoil, but the true test must be by results.

Just as the league of nations was breaking down because, thru its lack of realism, it could be nothing more than a league of nations, so the prime minister's plea for peace would not be realized because conditions governed men's actions and hungry men were angry men.

Mr. Baldwin had suggested that the miners should purchase and run a colliery.

That, at any rate, was an admission of the failure of the class to which the prime minister belonged to run the mines of the country.

It was the intention of the miners to have the whole of the mines, under public control, and they would not start with one pit at a time on the installment system.

The miners could not forget Tonyandy and 1921. While the workers had only the weapon nature had given them to use in their defence, Mr. Baldwin's party and his class had used the army, navy and police to support the masters in every struggle against them.

Overthrow Capitalist System.

The miners would go on preparing their organization so that it would be ready to act, first, to secure wages sufficient to live, and secondly, to take control of the industries of the country, to overthrow the capitalist system and usher in a co-operative commonwealth.

"I am glad to notice," remarked Mr. Cook, "that the prime minister does know something about Marx, but I am afraid he has not studied Das Kapital, or he would have admitted that the present situation was prophesied there, and that the Marxian law of value had been proved absolutely correct in practice."

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LEADERS OF THE U. S. S. R. RED ARMY—From left to right: Bubnov, Unshlicht, S. Kamenev, Budenny, Voroshilov.

Shop Nuclei and the Communist Parties

By M. K.

THE chief organizational question with which the E. C. of the C. I. and all its sections is concerned is the reorganization of the Communist parties upon the basis of factory nuclei, the consolidation of the nuclei where they are already in existence and working and the organization and consolidation of Communist fractions in the various workers' and peasants' organizations.

What concrete results have we obtained in the reorganization of the Communist parties upon the factory nuclei? Let us consider these gains according to the individual countries.

Germany: The reorganization of the Communist Party of Germany began before the Fifth Congress. The question of the reorganization received nowhere such a thoro discussion as in the C. P. G. According to the report of the central committee of the German party submitted to the organizational department of the E. C. of the C. I., 1,092 factory nuclei were formed up to August 1, 1924. At the present time this number is much higher. The factory nuclei carry out all the functions of the lower party organs in the workshops. They occupy themselves not merely with general party questions but also with the needs of the workers in the respective factories. They attempt to take over the leadership of the struggle against the exploiters and in this way to win the sympathy of the masses of the workers. The fact that the recent terror elections brought such comparatively good results to the German party must be ascribed to the work of the factory nuclei.

830 factory nuclei in Germany have their own newspaper (Today this number is still greater). The extent to which the idea of factory newspapers has been adopted in Germany is shown by the following facts: there are two police and one military newspaper issued (the latter is of course strictly illegal). Almost all nuclei papers in Germany are printed. The material for them is supplied by the workers themselves. The circulation of these papers is continually increasing. The managers and foremen of factories search for the editors of these papers energetically, and if they discover them immediate dismissal follows. The social democrats and even the fascists have recognized the great importance of the factory newspapers and here and there they themselves have undertaken the issue of such papers.

The largest factory nuclei endeavor to get in touch with nuclei of the Russian Communist Party, in similar factories and to carry on an exchange of letters with them.

Those Communists who do not work in factories (domestic servants, porters and the like), are organized in street nuclei. The main share of the party work, however, is already concentrated in the factory nuclei. The Young Communist League of Germany has already carried out the reorganization upon the factory nuclei basis in Berlin, in Thuringia, in the Ruhr district, in Cologne and in Halle-Merseburg. There are approximately 600 nuclei. These factory nuclei of the youth also issue their papers which are for the most part hectographed. There are over a hundred

of such papers.

France: Since the Fifth World Congress the C. P. has achieved great success in the reorganization upon the factory nuclei basis. In the Paris district it has been carried out completely, the former "sections" no longer exist and all comrades are organized in the factory nuclei. The territorial nuclei have been almost completely abolished in the Paris district. In this district there are over 500 factory nuclei and 30 sub-districts. In the north there are 80 factory nuclei functioning. In other parts of France the reorganization has been similarly taken in hand. Thanks to the factory nuclei, the party work has been considerably enlivened. All nuclei members are drawn into the work. Contact with the non-party masses is being established. Thanks to these circumstances the French C. P. has won 3,000 new members since the Fifth Congress.

The French factory nuclei have also commenced to issue their own factory papers. In the organizational department of the E. C. of the C. I. there are approximately 80 different factory nuclei newspapers from Paris. In the north there are about ten factory newspapers issued. It must, however, be remarked that the French papers are behind the German in many respects. They are edited mechanically and often contain no notice whatever of the life in the shops. The workers take very little part in the production of these papers, but nevertheless, the work is going forward.

Czecho-Slovakia: Altho the question of reorganizing the C. P. on the basis of the factory nuclei was energetically discussed even before the Fifth Congress, actual nuclei were formed only in Bratislava and in Reichenberg.

The decisions of the Fifth Congress spurred the C. P. to greater activity in this direction. The discussion inside the party which commenced after the Fifth Congress, gave the question of the factory nuclei a great impetus. The party conference adopted new statutes on a Bolshevik basis (factory nuclei as basis of the party, the activity of all members, democratic centralism etc.). Naturally, we are still very far from a complete reorganization of the party on the basis of these statutes. According to the information of the Rude Pravo there are already a few hundred factory nuclei in existence. According to the decision of the central committee of the C. P. of Czecho-Slovakia, the reorganization upon the new basis must be completed by May 1, 1925. Up to the moment only one newspaper has appeared from these nuclei. Even for this the workers of the particular factory have apparently made very little contribution.

Italy: The reorganization of the party is being carried out under illegal conditions. Therefore, it was not possible to achieve such success in the time as in France. However, even here considerable success has been achieved. In Turin the formation of factory nuclei was commenced before the Fifth Congress and this work furthered the influx of new party members, at the same time the number of members in other towns permanently decreased. After the Fifth Congress the formation of factory nuclei was undertaken all over Italy. At the present time there are 40 factory nuclei in

Milan with 450 members. The entire organization in Milan has a thousand members. Approximately half of the membership is organized in street nuclei. The Italian factory nuclei are somewhat different from the street nuclei in other countries for not merely are they composed of party members, but also of sympathizers. This looser form in the Italian nuclei hinders them without doubt in their efforts to become real Bolshevik party nuclei. However, the factory nuclei carry on a far greater activity than that of the old "groups." Thanks to the revival of the work of the C. P. I. and the general strengthening of the anti-fascist movement, the membership of the party has doubled itself in the last few months and has now reached 25,000.

Great Britain: The C. P. G. B. is directing great attention to the reorganization of the party upon the factory nuclei. The formation of nuclei is made very difficult by the numerical weakness of the party. Despite this however, there are 17 factory nuclei in existence in Great Britain. A plan for the reorganization of the whole party has been drafted.

U. S. A.: A great discussion is taking place in the Workers Party of America upon the question of the reorganization upon the basis of the factory nuclei. The reorganization meets with great difficulties on account of the various nationalities among the American workers, and on account of the fact that the immigrants can oftentimes not understand the English language and because of the numerical weakness of the American Party. At the moment the party actually represents a federation of national sections loosely bound together in which the immigrants are dominant. In consequence of this the reorganization must be proceeded with very carefully. The organizational department of the E. C. of the C. I. is of the opinion that the national sections must be maintained, their functions must however be confined to agitation and propaganda work amongst the workers of their particular nationality. The chief political work and the party work in general must go thru the factory nuclei which must organize all Communists of a particular factory without distinction of nationality. Despite hindrances there are already a few factory nuclei in the United States. The Young Workers' League is already almost completely reorganized on the basis of factory nuclei. (This is inaccurate, but the Y. W. L. is working hard to this end.—Ed. Note.)

Scandinavia: 1. Norway: The Norwegian Workers' Party, from which the Communist Party of Norway originated, was built up upon the basis of collective membership of the trade unions and individual membership was quite unknown. Whole trade union sections have affiliated to it. This circumstance in reality placed the trade unions above the party and was not able to promote the development of the activity of the party members. Therefore, the first task of the C. P. consisted in carrying out the change from collective to individual membership. This has already been practically carried out. Work is now proceeding for the formation of factory nuclei. In Oslo (Christiania) there are 38 factory nuclei organized in various districts. The party members

not working in the factories are organized in street nuclei. There is also one factory nucleus paper.

2. Sweden: In Stockholm there are factory nuclei in the larger industrial centers. Under the old party leadership and up to the split there only existed upon paper. The new central committee is devoting all its attention to the carrying out of the decisions of the Fifth World Congress relating to the reorganization of the party upon the basis of factory nuclei.

The Baltic States. The Communist parties of Finland and Lithuania are, for the greater part, and the Communist Party of Estonia, completely, built up upon the basis of the factory nuclei system. In Latvia the party of the Bolsheviks was organized upon the basis of the factory nuclei, in independent Latvia, however, the factory nuclei disappeared in consequence of the lack of large-scale industry. They are now being organized afresh.

Poland: There were factory nuclei in the old Polish social democracy and also in the Russia Social Democratic Workers Party (Bolsheviks). However, under the old leadership of the C. P. of Poland the skeleton of the party—the factory nuclei—completely disappeared in many districts and in their place came the loosely organized and not very active "free" circles, to which not only party members but also sympathizers belonged. Unfortunately, the new leadership of the C. P. which devoted all its forces to the overcoming of the opportunistic deviations in the party, does not pay sufficient attention to the reorganization of the party upon the factory nuclei basis. The Young Communist League of Poland has achieved much greater success in this connection. The "free circles" and the few women's circles have been completely liquidated. The factory nuclei of the Y. C. L. of Poland shows great activity.

Austria: The Communist Party is weak and it is continually torn by fractional struggles. According to the reports submitted to the organizational department of the E. C. of the C. I. there are six factory nuclei in Vienna, including one in the Warchalowski locomotive works with 600 members.

The Balkans: Bulgaria: The C. P. quickly adapted itself to the new conditions of work, the conditions caused by the fascist terror and the complete illegality. The organization of the party on the basis of factory nuclei is in process but has not yet ended. The party members not working in the factories are organized in territorial and village nuclei.

Jugo-Slavia, Roumania and Greece: The reorganization of the Communist parties has begun. Factory nuclei exist in all these countries.

From this short survey we can see that the reorganization of the Communist parties upon the basis of factory nuclei is still in its opening stage. At the same time the endeavor is being made to utilize all party members in the activity. In this connection, as we have seen, certain results have been obtained, but much work still confronts us. We know what great efforts this cost in the Russian Communist Party. It will cost still greater energy in the west and in America, but nevertheless this work has begun and is proceeding, if only slowly, forwards.

Social-Democracy Strips Itself Naked

Our Model: Noske.

HEINE: It was our whole endeavor to act as Noske acted so that all violence was prevented, with the exception of the loss of a very new officers' lives, and as Noske acted when he succeeded in saving the life of Prince Henry of Prussia." (Rote Fahne, 21 Dec.)

Heine is competent, for in his capacity as member of the state court of justice he has already imposed a hundred years of penal servitude upon workmen.

Heine: "I myself, as member of the state court of justice, am a judge, and have the right to speak there in political cases every few weeks. I know very well how pleasant a task it is to judge mildly.

"But I know equally well that the main end of justice is to protect the social order, to maintain and firmly establish the state. There can be no deviation from justice, but it is the duty of a judge to consider the political effects of a verdict." (Rote Fahne, Dec. 21.)

The Denunciation of Rosa Luxemburg by the Leaders of the German Social Democratic Party.

IN the Magdeburg Ebert case General Wriesberg declared on oath that the German S. D. P. induced the authorities, during the war, to arrest

THIS is the last instalment of the exposure of the treason of the German social-democracy contained in their own testimony—speeches and letters.

TWO crowning acts of betrayal are shown in these brief documents: The arrest of Rosa Luxemburg and the letter of loyalty to the scion of the royal house.

OUT of their own mouths . . .

Rosa Luxemburg. The Vorwärts denies this statement, and sees in it another proof of German nationalist and Communist conspiracy.

I should thus like to call upon the editors of the Vorwärts to look up the 1916 volume of the Chemnitz Volksstimme, edited by Noske and Hellmann. In June and July 1916 Rosa Luxemburg and I were there repeatedly accused of high treason, with the openly published substantiation that we were issuing illegal leaflets and newspapers. These denunciations on the part of Noske and Hellmann were promptly followed by the arrest of Rosa Luxemburg on 10th of July, 1906, and by my arrest about two weeks later.

If Noske and Hellmann could publish such denunciations openly for weeks, without being prevented by the committee of the S. D. P., is it not likely that the party committee itself was co-operating? I thus await with pleasure a fresh lawsuit for libel from Messrs.

Noske, Hellmann, Ebert, Wels, and by the S. D. P., and on the collaboration with the military authorities during the war.

Berlin, December 17, 1924.

Ernst Meyer.

The Letter Sent by Ebert, Bauer and David, to Prince Max of Baden.

YOUR Royal Highness!

On the occasion of the first anniversary of the memorable day which brought the German people their greatest turning point in their history, the leaders of the Reich feel themselves impelled to recall the faithful assistance rendered by your Royal Highness in those hours of world historical importance. It will then be clear to all it was just the tried and tested political leaders chosen by the people who, clearly realizing the real possibilities and the lesson of a thousand years of history, though they

Co. I shall then be pleased to serve them with a fresh selection of material on the denunciations spread abroad stood for the abdication of the then bearer of the crown and for the throne renunciation of the emperor, prince in the unforgettable hours of November 8, both in the interfractional committee and in other places, none the less, stood just as energetically for the retention of the monarchy and for the regency of the Kaiser's grandson.

Your Royal Highness is aware, as nobody else is aware, that neither you nor the representatives of the people are to blame for the unexpected catastrophes into which our suffering people has been plunged, the revolution and the republic.

As an outward sign of gratefulness and recognition for the great services rendered by your Royal Highness to the people and the Vaterland at that critical period, a special session of the Reich government, held this morning, resolved to abandon the previous decision of expropriating Mainau Castle for people's welfare purposes, and to present this magnificent ancestral seat of your family to you as your permanent and unassailable property.

Berlin, November 8, 1919.

President of the Reich:
Ebert.

On behalf of the government:
Bauer. David.

MUSIC - LITERATURE - DRAMA!

San Carlo Singers Render Carmen in English with Success

By ALFRED V. FRANKENSTEIN.

Exactly fifty years and twenty-seven days after Bizet's Carmen was first performed the San Carlo Opera company put it on at the Auditorium theater. This fiftieth anniversary performance, which took place last Wednesday afternoon, was a notable one in several ways. It was performed with a cast mainly of Chicago people. It was sung in English; the first time that Charles Henry Meltzer's translation has been sung here. And it brot out a consummate Carmen.

No columns of complex raving can do justice to Lorna Doone Jackson's interpretation of the name part. It was magnificent, masterful, ideal.

Only two other performances, however, were really good. Herbert Gould, as Zuniga, the dragon captain, looked a little like the sergeant of police in "The Pirates of Penzance," but he has dramatic ability, voice, and one could understand every word he sang, which distinguishes his performance from all the others. The Pavley and Oukrainisky ballet did some excellent and spirited work in the first part of the fourth act.

Charles Hart as Don Jose was adequate vocally but not dramatically. Joseph Intermante, as the toreador was a sinner in every way. His rendition of the world's most famous tune had about as much of the spirit of joy in it as an obituary notice.

This matter of singing opera in English is a significant and excellent manifestation. It requires a number of things all of which make the performance more difficult. First it requires a good translation of the libretto. Second it requires singer trained to sing the English language well, and most opera singers are not trained to sing the language at all its advantages are obvious.

The San Carlo had an AI translation. Meltzer has done an excellent job, and has not hesitated to use familiar, simple American words. Of the enunciation of the singers not so much can be said. One could understand most of what Miss Jack-

son, Mr. Hart, and Miss Kargan, (who sang an attractive interpretation of the role of Micaela) had to say. Mr. Intermante, the minor principals, and the chorus one could not understand at all. Mr. Gould's work has been spoken of above. On the whole one got a pretty good idea of what was going on on the stage and was not stumbling in the Stygian darkness of a performance in Italian or French.

It would be superfluous for this writer to praise Carmen. But the impressions of the work recorded by a composer whose music is the direct opposite of everything Carmen stands for may be of interest. Says Tschalkovski, the master of gloom and tragedy:

"Behold, a Frenchman comes on the scene, in whom the qualities of piquancy and pungency are not the outcome of effort and reflection, but flow from his pen in a free stream flattering the ear, but touching us also. It is as he said to us: 'You ask nothing great, superb or grandiose—you want something pretty here is a pretty opera' . . . I can not play the last scene without tear in my eyes; the gross rejoicings of the crowd who look on at the bull fight, and side by side with this poignant tragedy and death of the two principal characters, pursued by an evil fate, who come to their inevitable end thru a long series of sufferings.

"I am convinced that ten years hence Carmen will be the most popular opera in the world. But one is a prophet in his own land. In Paris Carmen has had no real success." (That was in 1880, that Carmen was unsuccessful in Paris—A. C. F.)

And let us rejoice that Tschalkovski's conviction has proven a true one.

Verdi's "Aida" Is First Presentation at San Carlo Opera

The San Carlo company opened its run at the Auditorium last Monday night with Aida, the Verdi opera. Since most of the kick of the opera occurs in scenes having nothing to do with the theme of the story it is not necessary to give that story except briefly. Rhadames, the Egyptian general, is in love with an Ethiopian slave, Aida. Rhadames captures Aida's father, who forces his daughter to get from Rhadames the secret of the tactics of the next Ethiopian campaign. Rhadames is discovered by Ramfis, the high priest in the act of escaping with Aida and her father, and the two are buried alive.

With the exception of one character, the performance was in every way satisfactory. Anna Roselle, as Aida, made a lovely picture of the slave girl, and she sang the part with much depth of interpretation and a beautiful quality of tone.

Stella de Mette, as Amneris, daughter of the Egyptian king, had a difficult role and got away with it in fine shape. Pietro de Bastola as Amonasro, Aida's father, was every inch the vengeful, excited king. He is gifted with a voice of huge volume and quality.

Gaetano Tommasini was not so good as Rhadames. He sang the part, and that was about all.

The chorus was on the pitch at times.

Miss Nemerov of the Pavley and Oukrainisky ballet company put over some Egyptian dances in approved Ziegfeld style. There was some good dancing by unnamed blackface dancers, too.

Scenery and costumes are better than can be expected of a traveling company. But one episode, due to lack of personnel, fell flat. When Rhadames returns from the war he is supposed to bring with him a huge horde of prisoners, whom he turns loose. When he turned to his prisoners in this performance and told them to go, all four of 'em got up and went.

Fulgencio Guerrieri was the conductor and a good one. He uses neither baton or score, often not beating time at all, but expressing the melodic line by means of unconventional gestures. And he gets the results.

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Two Great Jewish Theaters in Moscow

By MICHAEL GOLD.

AMONG many of the American intelligentsia it is a common belief that the Soviet revolution has killed all art and culture in Russia. This charge has been repeated so often that even friends of Russia credit it with some truth.

But it is not true; it is merely another of those strange, malicious slanders that have been so freely circulated to give Russia a bad name. Time will disprove this mean lie, as it has disproved so many other lies about Russia. Time will show that the revolution was not a destruction of culture, but the great renaissance of a nation and a world.

In ten years artists and students from all over the world will be thronging to Russia just as in the middle ages young intellectual Englishmen and Germans, like John Milton and Erasmus, went to Italy, for new ideas. Russia will be the world's fountainhead of all free and bold modern thought during the next few decades.

There are Jews all over the world, for instance, and they have powerful communities in New York, London, Paris and Berlin. I have been in all these cities, and have seen the Jewish life in them, but in my judgment the heart of Jewish culture and art exists today in Moscow.

The two greatest Jewish theaters in the world are now playing in Moscow. They are the Jewish Kamerny theater and the Gabima theater. Of them one cannot write dimly—they are a revelation to a student of stage-craft. They are marvelous laboratories of the theater, and they are also the finest blooming of the long-suppressed Jewish race-spirit.

The Gabima theater gives productions in classic Hebrew, the only theater of its kind in the world. I saw the two plays in its repertoire, namely: Gadybuk, and the Eternal Jew, by David Pinski.

The Gadybuk is one of the standard pieces of the Jewish stage and has been given many times in America. But it has never been given with the genius with which it has been clothed at the Gabima in Moscow. There it becomes a rich, glamorous epic of the Jewish folk, a blend of Jewish poetry, mysticism, music, melancholy and dancing as well as benighted Jewish superstition and bigotry.

Vahtangov, a young Armenian regisseur of the Moscow Art theater who died a few days ago, was the director of both pieces played at the Gabima. He was one of the great regisseurs of Russia and even though he was not a Jew, his Semitic blood gave him an instinctive understanding of Jewish life that makes his productions as authentic as if they had been born in the mind of a native of Palestine.

The Gabima is the spiritual center around which a great deal of mystic Jewish Zionism and nationalism revolves in Moscow. I am not an adherent of Jewish nationalist mysticism, any more than I can yield myself to the Irish nationalist mystics like Yeats, or the Catholic mystics of the stage like Claudel. These mystics write nobly of infinity, god, the soul, the cosmos, but when one goes under the purple and gold of their imagery one finds the skeleton of the same 100 per cent patriotism and nationalism that has plunged the world into so many ugly, bloody wars. To grow mystical over one's nation or one's race is to join hands with the Ku Klux Klan of one's nation and race.

One cannot apply a political test to the Gabima, however. It is a great art theater, and a poet and artist finds himself ravished by the beauty of its perfect performances. About one-third of the audience at the Gabima is made up of Russians who do not understand Hebrew, but who come to this temple of pure, noble art, out of devotion to the spirit of great art.

The Jewish Kamerny is no less a theater of genius than the Gabima, but it is more in the main stream of modern life. It is not slow and stately and majestic with the biblical grandeur of the Gabima; it is swift, satir-

cal, full of energy, boldness, youth, laughter—the spirit, not of the bible, but of young Communism.

The Jewish Kamerny, under the direction of another great regisseur, Granovsky, has fused many of the tendencies of the new Russian theater into a synthesis that is something so new that it is almost impossible to write about. It must be seen and heard to be understood. I despair of making it clear, it would be like trying to tell anyone that the greatest living singer could be heard in Russia, if Chaliapin had not come to America, to convince skeptics that he really was the world's greatest singer. The Jewish Kamerny will soon visit America, too; and perhaps will convince skeptics here more than any words of mine.

I saw three productions of the Jewish Kamerny; Goldfaden's old play, The Witch, and a play called "200,000," and a group of one-act parodies on the methods of other Jewish theaters. Of these plays I thought The Witch the finest.

The Witch has been often given at Jewish theaters in America, but in Moscow it was not the sentimental tale of the poor little silly orphan girl over which so many Jewish matrons have shed their plentiful tears. All the vulgar sentimentality and cheap music-hall hokum has been eliminated from the piece; only the fantasy and humanity of the story have remained.

The production cannot be compared to anything we have yet seen in America. The Moscow Art theater and Ballet's Chauve Souris are not fair samples of modern Russian theatrical art. They are remnants of the old; in Russia the Moscow Art theater is regarded by the younger men as a sort of museum, where ancient modes of acting and scenery are presented by old people who have learned nothing since the nineteenth century.

The Jewish Art theater models itself on this old school of photographic art, and therefore its performance of Goldfaden's Witch that I saw in New York was as unoriginal and dull as a play mounted by Belasco.

At the Jewish Kamerny in Moscow however, the play has been made into a theatrical symphony. Everything is in the key of young, vigorous fantasy. The costumes, the scenery, with its planes and levels the dancing, the singing, the speech, the gestures, all have been planned and harmonized. Nothing is left to chance; each move on the stage, every word uttered, is as skillfully planned in advance as a ballet is planned.

Granovsky's ideal has been the synthetic theater of which Gordon Craig and other aesthetes have dreamed. He has achieved the synthetic theater; a theatre where word, movement, music, gesture and dance are woven into a unity from which one cannot eliminate anything; not the gesture of a hand.

Only in very technical terms could one convey the great work of Granovsky. I prefer not to attempt a description, but to let the Jewish Kamerny

speak for itself when it comes here. All I can do is prophesy that it will create a revolution in the minds of the younger American dramatists, actors and musicians. Many of them have been feeling their clumsy way toward work like this; and the performances of the Jewish Kamerny will give them a clear picture of what they have wanted in the theater. It will start a new epoch on the American stage.

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DANCE FOR BENEFIT OF WHITE RUSSIAN PRISONERS IN POLAND

The Workers' Home, together with the White Russian Peoples' Society will give a concert and dance this Sunday, April 5, at Schoenhofen Hall, corner Milwaukee and Ashland avenues, for the benefit of the political prisoners in Poland. Many of the White Russians who are fighting for the liberation of the territory forcibly annexed by Poland and which is in fact part of the Soviet Republic of White Russia, are suffering in the jails of Poland. Only a few days ago, the capitalist press reported how two of such prisoners who were on their way to be exchanged for Polish prisoners in Soviet Russia, were shot down by the Polish chief of police.

All who are in sympathy with the liberation movement in Poland are invited to attend this affair and thereby help the victims of the Polish bourgeoisie. The concert will start at 4 p. m.

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SELLING THE COMMUNIST PRESS

By H. C. FILLMORE

I have just come in after attempting to sell DAILY-WORKER subs from door to door and want to record my impressions while they are still fresh. Let us begin by facing the fact that it's a real job, this haling a stranger to the door and actually selling and getting the money right away for a sub.

Bourgeois firms, selling by agent have understood this so well that almost invariably nowadays, the agent says, "You don't have to pay to-day" and "pay the postman or agent upon delivery." In present day America anyone who is at all easy to sell to, had better crawl in a hole and hide if he wants to survive. To fail to see this, to fail to understand something of the annoyances visited daily on householders, particularly in large cities is to fail to see life.

PERSONALLY I am rather hard-boiled and anyone who sells to me from the door step will earn his sale. The idea of this campaign is to distribute the DAILY WORKER from door to door every night for a week and then go around on Sundays and pick up the subs.

Subs may come slowly, but one does make contacts, hears the ideas of people outside the party and the experience is invaluable. We went in two's a man and a girl comrades together and took turns leading off.

ANYONE who thinks there are no classes in America and that the way you get your living, does not largely determine your ideas, your manner of living and even your facial expression ought to try this.

There we interrupt an old boy eating his dinner, nice black clothes, gold watch chain and charm, hands that have long ago lost their callouses if they ever had any, conservative written all over him and he pompously admits seeing one copy of the paper "would just as soon we didn't leave any more." He "don't think there is any call for such a publication."

WE tell him we are just tickled to death to have his opinion, that there is a growing army of workers of a different belief, that it's a mighty nice spring day and then we leave him to go back to his lunch, we hoping that his appetite is spoiled.

Next we get a liberal lady, the daughter of an old time temperance physician who says her family has been reading off the orthodox track for years, says she liked some things in the paper, very kind and sympathetic, pleads stress of work, for not subscribing. Sinclair and Nearing about her calibre.

NEXT a young working girl to whom we promise to send a sample Young Worker or two. (Note, have them with you strike when the iron is hot, some other time may be no time). The member of the sheet

metal workers, old 1922 strike? knew the old Weekly Worker and liked it, out of work and broke, probably we have revived interest here. He knows who owns America all right.

Then the two friends, a Russian and an Armenian—the former a reader of Novy Mir the latter illiterate, both out of work and with an idea that "American workers are 50 years behind." We say, "Not 50 of the kind of years Europe has had since 1914, our turn here is coming, read the DAILY WORKER to help prepare you for it."

THEN the maid who asks if it is a church paper and when assured that it is not, feels, confident her mistress "would not be interested."

The pleasant faced landlady who says she gave the papers to her roomers, and will ask them about it when they come in, could probably be approached herself, if we had carried something of special interest to women. I think, a pamphlet, written in simple common language, illuminating the great improvement coming to millions of such women with the advent of Communism, would be in order at such times.

MORE contacts at more houses. These are average however. We may all see one trouble, these blocks are too much mixed, these folk have different ideas because they have lived differently, maybe a first class typist could hold them in conversation long enough to study them, and come to understand them.

Perhaps this is a drawback of all large cities. One idea would be to get a block where one kind of workers were living, mine or mill or some industry where they were feeling the capitalist pinchers.

GET their stories and slap 'em in to the DAILY WORKER, the way they told them, let 'em be raw, who cares?

Of course, summing their part up in the world labor movement but make this plain, these are not yet Marxists. Then, by golly, an agent would be armed with something that had a punch to it, if the workers don't take an interest in our stuff, it's the method that's wrong. We have to "sell" Communism to the masses, the fact that we know these ideas are for their own good doesn't mean that they know it yet.

COMMUNISM ENLISTS THE WOMEN

By KARL RADEK.

A FEW years ago the well-known theatre director, Reinhardt, presented "Lysistrata" by Aristophanes, at the Deutsche Theater, the play in which the old scoffer and opponent of Athenian democracy depicts a woman's conspiracy to end the war. All Greece was tired of war and the women decided to end it by a demonstration of solidarity. What could that be? A sex strike. And this sex strike, depicted with ingenious humor, entertains the bourgeois ladies and gentlemen in an extraordinary degree. Old Aristophanes had known gifted women, Aspasia, for instance, the wife of Pericles. His Lysistrata is also represented as a clever woman. But the masses of women who follow her are depicted as pretty kittens who have no other weapon than the ability to love.

This representation does not even correspond with the role of woman in ancient times; she was a mother and mistress of the home, that is, she did a great necessary social work. But as mother and mistress of the home, she was restricted in her activity to the domestic circle, to her family, and therefore she could not engage in concentrated mass activity. Since this time the world has radically changed.

Women are working in factories, workshops and offices. The typewriter alone represents a technical revolution. Without the ridiculed lady typist the whole of modern industry and of modern trade is impossible. During the war woman's importance as a worker increased ten-fold. That is why in many countries the war with one full sweep granted suffrage to women. The war is over. Millions of women who played a revolutionary role in 1919 have retired from politics, but they could not retire to a peaceful home as desired. Throughout Europe there is a tremendous housing crisis which is undermining the roots of the bourgeois family.

The situation of the working woman has become worse. She is the first victim of the capitalist offensive. Her wages are the first to be cut, and when a reduction of em-

ployes is made, she is the first to be thrown on to the pavement, and therefore the working women will play an increasingly greater role in the class struggle as the years go by. The bourgeoisie laughs itself sick over the idea of love as a fighting weapon, but it will learn to know of hate as the fighting weapon of the working women.

The Communist women's movement is in its first stages, and that is the best evidence of how young and weak the Communist movement in general still is. Only the movement which embraces that half of humanity, the working women, can revolutionize the world. International Women's Day was therefore created not only to mobilize the women, but also point out to the Communist men that they are betraying their cause if they do not support the movement of the proletarian women with great fervor and with great earnestness. The winning over of the masses or working women into the Communist movement will give it an enormous offensive power. The working woman as a Communist guarantees victory even in the most difficult circumstances.

The spirit of the fighting workers in difficult situations depends on the spirit, the endurance, the energy of women, for in a difficult situation a dependant woman might cause a defeat.

Therefore, all energies to the fore in the fight for the soul of the working women.

MOISSAYE OLGIN TO SPEAK IN RUSSIAN IN CHICAGO, APRIL 17

What promises to be one of the most interesting lectures given in Chicago in the Russian language is the lecture to be given by Comrade Moissaye Olgin, co-editor of the Russian Communist daily, Novy Mir. He will speak at the Workers' Home (formerly the Soviet School), 1902 W. Division St., on Friday, April 17, at 8 p. m., on "What did the Russian Revolution Give to the Workers and Peasants?"

Making Russian Tea



Did you ever see a samovar? No, it ain't no ukelele, it isn't for playing, but for boiling water to make Russian tea. The soldier in The Beauty and the Bolshevik is shown here making a fire in the samovar. He is using his boot in the true Russian style as a bellows to blow the fire in the samovar. Come and see how it is done in The Beauty and Bolshevik, Wednesday, April 15, from 6 p. m. at Wicker Park Theater, 1539 Milwaukee Ave., near Robey St.

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British Leaders Urge Trade Union Unity

(Continued from page 1.)
posal for the convening of a world labor congress.

The date fixed for the meeting of our general council is February 5, 1925, and the following days.

It will be seen from the above correspondence that in the course of the six months there was (presumably as a result of the British Trade Union Congress declaration in September) a distinctly more cordial tone in the letter sent by the bureau on September 11. On the other hand, there is a perceptible stiffening of the tone in the letter of December 1. The last letter would, it seemed, definitely preclude any further move towards an entente; and postpones any further consideration to the meeting of February 5. Undoubtedly this was due to the fact that the negotiations at that time (November and December) proceeding between the British trade unions and the Russian trade unions had placed a new complexion on the situation. To these Anglo-Russian negotiations, we must now turn.

(To be continued.)